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ABSTRACT

The 1980 United States Census showed a marked acceleration in the suburbanization of blacks during the 1970s. This study analyzes statistical data from the 1985 American Housing Survey (AHS) National and Metropolitan Files to determine if that pattern of acceleration continued in the 1980s. These sets of data also permitted racial and socioeconomic status comparisons in overall suburbanization level and in the propensity of recent movers to choose suburban destinations. The following conclusions are reported: (1) black suburbanization has slowed since the 1970s; (2) blacks continued to show lower levels of suburbanization than whites; (3) only a small percentage of blacks moved to suburban areas from the central cities; (4) once in the suburbs, blacks tended to remain there at the same rate as whites; (5) intrametropolitan racial segregation remained high, although it showed signs of decreasing; and (6) large differences in the suburbanization process were found among the 11 metropolitan areas surveyed. A list of 37 references, four tables of statistical data, and 19 graphs are appended. (FMW)

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Trends and Differentials

Elaine L. Fielding

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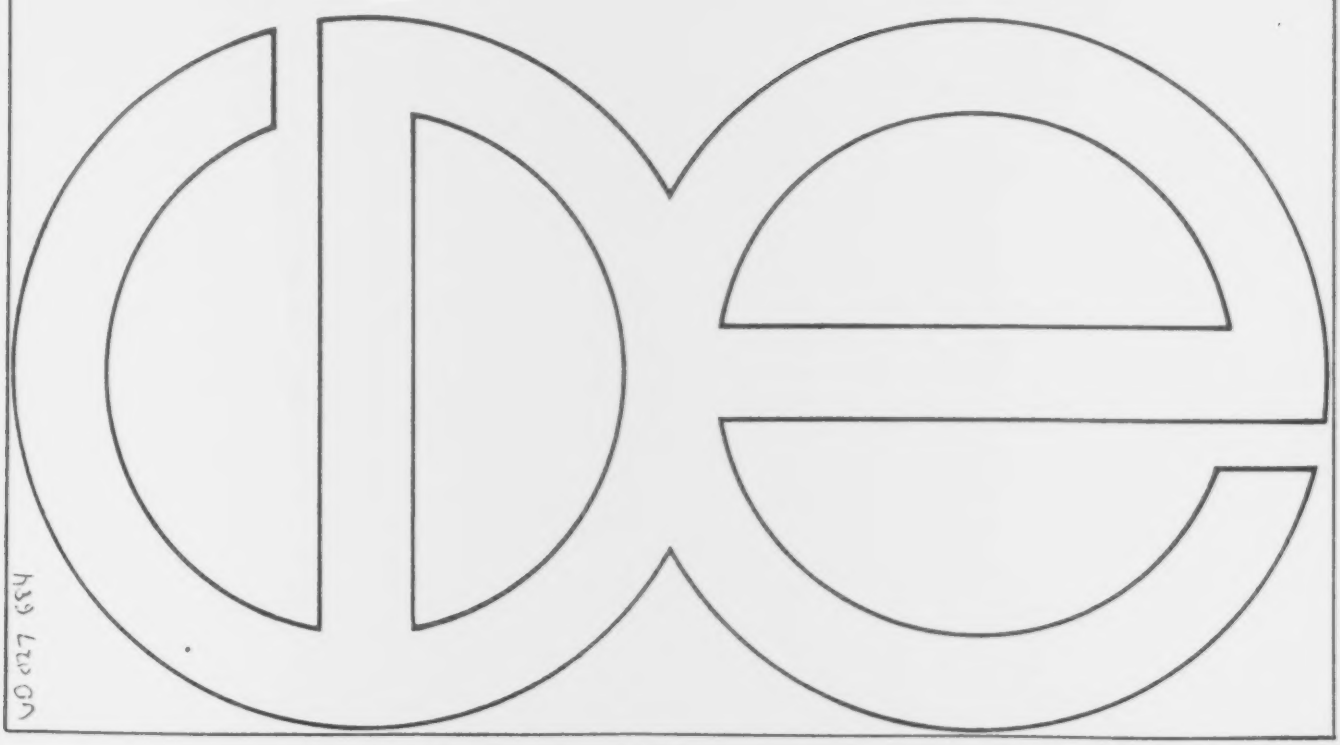

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BLACK SUBURBANIZATION IN THE MID-1980S

TRENDS AND DIFFERENTIALS

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ABSTRACT

The 1980 U.S. Census revealed a marked acceleration in the suburbanization of blacks during the 1970s. This paper provides a preliminary answer to whether that acceleration continued in the 1980s by examining the 1985 American Housing Survey (National and Metropolitan Samples). These data sets permit racial and socio-economic status comparisons in overall suburbanization level and in the propensity of recent movers to choose suburban destinations.

Blacks continue to exhibit low levels of suburbanization relative to whites, and only a small percentage of blacks originating in central cities move to suburban areas. However, once in the suburbs, blacks tend to remain there at the same rate as whites. Intrametropolitan racial segregation remains strong, although it shows signs of decreasing. Large differences in the suburbanization process were found among the 11 metropolitan areas surveyed.

BLACK SUBURBANIZATION IN THE MID-1980S: Trends and Differentials

Elaine L. Fielding

One distinctive feature of population redistribution patterns over the 1970-80 decade was the greatly accelerated pace of black suburbanization. Prior to 1970, most black movers chose central city destinations. Since 1970, blacks have joined whites in showing a net redistribution out of central cities and into suburbs. As a result, the proportion of metropolitan blacks living in suburban rings increased from 23% in 1970 to 28% in 1980 (Long and DeAre, 1981). Many exclusively white suburban cities and towns gained their first blacks during the seventies (Fielding, 1987a). These trends led some to suggest that metropolitan areas were becoming more racially integrated and that black suburbanization patterns would continue converging towards those of whites (e.g. Frey, 1984).

Analyses of black suburbanization during the seventies indeed identified some convergence toward historical white patterns, but also emphasized continued racial disparities. By some measures, the pace of black suburbanization actually exceeded that of whites; the black suburban population grew almost 50% between 1970 and 1980, compared to a 17% growth rate among non-blacks (Long and DeAre, 1981). However, if measured by the proportion of movers choosing suburban destinations, the pace for blacks during the seventies was still much slower than that of whites (Frey, 1984, 1985; Goodman and Streitwieser, 1983; Nelson, 1980).

Racial disparities are also strong in the *outcomes* of suburbanization. As of 1980 only 28% of metropolitan blacks lived in suburbs, compared to 65% of non-blacks (Long and DeAre, 1981). Blacks are also much less likely to live in suburbs than Hispanics or Asians (Massey and Denton, 1988). These differences illustrate the persistence of black-white intrametropolitan segregation over time. Despite rapid black suburbanization, racial segregation between central cities and suburbs changed little over the 1970-80 decade (Fielding, 1987b; Winsberg, 1986).

Aggregate population redistribution is clearly a gradual process, given that only a small proportion of the population moves in any interval and that most moves are short distance (Speare, Goldstein and Frey, 1975; Long, 1988). Large changes in intrametropolitan racial segregation in a given decade are thus not expected. Even supposing immediate equality in black and white suburbanization patterns, it would take many decades for overall segregation levels to be significantly reduced (e.g. Frey 1978a, 1984). Nevertheless, exploring patterns of black suburbanization, as they continue to emerge over time, provides important clues about prospects for increased residential integration.

Frey (1984) demonstrated that if the metropolitan redistribution trends of the late 1970s were to continue, central city-suburb racial segregation would eventually decline, although slowly. Has black suburbanization accelerated by the mid-1980s such that we can expect faster declines in segregation? To date, there is little available evidence to answer this question; a full

understanding awaits the results of the 1990 Census. One study, using 1986 Current Population Survey data, suggests that black suburbanization occurred at a slower annual rate between 1980 and 1986 than during the 1970-80 decade (Grier and Grier, 1988). If this is the case, then substantial declines in intrametropolitan segregation over the 1980-90 decade are less likely.

CURRENT INVESTIGATION

The purpose of this analysis is to glean further insight into recent patterns of black (and white) suburbanization using the 1985 American Housing Survey. The three specific questions to be addressed are discussed below in turn.

First, do mid-1980s suburbanization levels indicate continued acceleration of black suburbanization and/or further convergence towards white patterns? An evolutionary, assimilationist perspective would predict continued convergence of black and white suburbanization patterns (Cottingham, 1975; Frey, 1984). A related issue is to examine the effects of recent suburbanization patterns on the level of central city/suburb racial segregation. Lower levels of segregation could result from an increased representation of blacks in the suburbs or from an increased "back-to-the-city" movement among whites (Frey, 1985).

Second, what do trends in suburban destination choice tell us about black mobility patterns in the mid-1980s? Social and economic gains by blacks in the 1960s and 1970s, such as the 1968 Fair Housing Act, were expected to make suburban residence more

accessible to blacks (Hermalin and Farley, 1973; Pettigrew, 1980). Changing attitudes toward residential integration among whites (Bobo, Schuman, and Steeh, 1986; Farley, *et al.*, 1978) could presumably have similar effects. If these factors do in fact encourage black suburbanization, their effects should be strong in the 1980s as more middle-class blacks move into the home-buying stage of the life cycle (Frey, 1984). On the other hand, factors specific to the eighties, such as the greatly increased cost of housing and stagnation of black economic gains, might serve to restrict black access to suburbs.

Third, how do suburbanization patterns differ by place and by socioeconomic status? Previous studies have noted strong differences among metropolitan areas and regions in patterns and levels of black suburbanization (Biggar and Biasiolli, 1978; Fielding, 1987a, 1987b; Frey, 1978a, 1984; Guest, 1978; Logan and Schneider, 1984; Long and DeAre, 1981; Massey and Denton, 1988; Nelson, 1980; Stahura, 1988). Regarding socioeconomic status, suburbanization during the 1970s was led by higher-status blacks (Frey, 1985; Nelson, 1980; Spain and Long, 1981), though prior to 1970, there was little status selectivity in black suburbanization (Cottingham, 1975; Farley, 1970; Frey, 1985). Given increasing economic polarization within the black population (Massey and Eggers, 1990; Wilson, 1978, 1987), we might expect exaggerated status selectivity among recent black suburbanizers.

The analysis consists of two main sections, the first presenting the proportion of the metropolitan population (by race)

living in the suburban ring in 1985. Comparing these suburbanization levels with those for earlier periods provides insight into the *direction* of change in intrametropolitan racial segregation. The second section focuses on the propensity of recent movers to choose suburban destinations. Racial differences and changes over time in these propensities help us understand the pace and nature of recent black (and white) suburbanization. For example, an increasing black propensity to move to suburbs is a good indicator of an acceleration of black suburbanization in the eighties. Differentials by area and by socio-economic status are presented in both sections of the analysis.

DATA AND METHODS

Making inferences about population redistribution between decennial censuses requires using a sample survey. The American Housing Survey (AHS), conducted every other year nationally and every fourth year in selected metropolitan areas, contains information on residence and recent mobility by race. The specific data used here are from the 1985 National and Metropolitan Files (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1988a, 1988b). The AHS is a sample of the non-group quarters housing units in selected areas. Weights are provided to inflate the sample to the total population of housing units (Hadden and Leger, 1988).[1] The National Sample permits analysis of national and regional metropolitan trends,

[1] Although weights were designed to correct for the omitted housing units, some bias may remain.

while the Metropolitan File contains separate, representative samples for the 11 metropolitan areas surveyed in 1985.[2]

Since the AHS is a housing unit sample, the analysis reflects the socio-economic, residential and mobility characteristics of households, rather than individuals. For instance, the race variable represents the race of the household head. In this analysis, blacks are compared to whites, rather than to non-blacks, as whites may be viewed as the assimilation standard. Socio-economic status is measured by education of the household head and total family income. Since these income figures include unearned and transfer income, they provide a better indication of ability to pay for housing than the usual income figures, which include only earned income.

The AHS contains detailed information on the current and previous residences of households that moved into a sample unit within the previous year. Although having data only for in-migrants precludes estimation of net redistribution, I can aggregate mover households by prior residence and analyze their destination choices. Previous residence is collapsed into three categories: central city of the same metropolitan area (MSA), suburb of the same MSA, and outside the referent MSA (which includes both metropolitan and non-metropolitan origins).

Most of the statistics presented here are percentages and need no explanation. However, the concept and significance of

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[2] The metropolitan areas covered in the 1985 AHS are: Boston, Dallas, Detroit, Fort Worth, Los Angeles, Minneapolis, Philadelphia, Phoenix, San Francisco, Tampa and Washington, DC.

destination propensity rates is less straightforward. Frey (1978b) demonstrates that local mobility stream rates can be decomposed into two multiplicative component rates: a mobility incidence rate and a destination propensity rate. The mobility incidence rate is the rate of mobility of a particular population as measured by the number of movers divided by the population at the beginning of the interval. The destination propensity rate is the rate at which movers from a specified origin move to a particular destination.

Three propensity rates are used in this analysis. The city-origin suburban destination propensity rate is defined as the number of movers from city to suburb divided by the total number of movers originating in the city who stayed within that metropolitan area. The suburb-origin rate is analogous, with the numerator being the number of movers who stayed within the suburban ring of their metropolitan area. The third rate is for those moving into a given metropolitan area and is defined as the number choosing suburban destinations divided by the total number of in-movers to that area.

In this framework, destination propensity rates gauge the "preference" of a population of movers for a particular type of destination. I discuss them here as being analogous to probabilities. That is, they answer the question of how likely it is that a certain type of person (e.g. black with high school education) will choose a suburban destination when they move. If consistent over time, a given set of rates will affect the overall population distribution. Thus, there is a direct connection

between racial differentials in these rates and changes over time in intrametropolitan segregation. This connection can be formally modelled, with segregation levels being projected into the future using various sets of race-specific destination propensity rates as in Frey (1978a, 1984). No such projection will be attempted here, but I can make speculations about the likely direction of change in segregation.

A few notes are necessary here concerning limitations of the data set. Some of the estimates, especially status-specific destination propensity rates, are not consistently stable. The propensity rates are based on a one-year mobility interval and are therefore sensitive to economic fluctuations. Additional instability in the estimates could result from the small sample sizes for some areas or subpopulations. Unweighted sample sizes appear in the Appendix.

Throughout the analysis, patterns for the mid-1980s are compared to those for earlier years. In some cases, the numbers or references are not strictly comparable. For instance, AHS data refer to the population of households, whereas decennial Census data refer to the population of individuals. The 1985 AHS uses 1983 metropolitan area boundaries, but retains 1980 central city definitions. The main difference then, is that the 1985 areas may include more suburban territory than the earlier data. Therefore, temporal comparisons should be viewed as suggestive, not exact, descriptions of trends.

RESULTS: SUBURBANIZATION LEVELS

Suburbanization levels, operationalized by the proportion of the metropolitan population living in the suburban ring, are presented in Table 1 for blacks and whites separately. Also shown are intrametropolitan segregation levels, measured by the index of dissimilarity. Since there are only two areas (central city and suburbs), the segregation index simply reflects the difference between the suburbanization levels of whites and blacks. The index can be interpreted as the percentage of the black (white) population which would have to change residence (across the central city/suburb boundary) in order for there to be no racial intrametropolitan segregation.

In the mid-1980s, metropolitan blacks remain much less likely than whites to live in the suburban ring. At the national level, 29% of blacks and 62% of whites were suburban residents in 1985 (Panel A, Table 1). The corresponding segregation level, 33, is slightly lower than that observed between non-blacks and blacks for 1980 (36) and 1970 (37), as shown in Panel B. However, the proportion of metropolitan blacks in suburbs in 1985 is only one percentage point higher than that for 1980 (28%). This is a small change considering that the black suburbanization level increased five percentage points between 1970 and 1980. The decrease in metropolitan segregation in the early eighties appears to be due to

a decrease in the suburbanization level of whites (non-blacks)[3], rather than to increased suburbanization among blacks.

Black suburbanization levels vary markedly by region, with low levels in the Northeast (24%) and North Central regions (17%) and higher levels (mid-30s) for the South and West (Panel A, Table 1). Conversely, among whites, suburbanization levels are higher in the two northern regions. As a result, racial segregation is twenty points higher in the two northern regions (Northeast, 41; North Central, 45) than in the South (25) and West (23).

These 1985 regional estimates can be compared to analogous figures for 1975 from Nelson (1980). Suburbanization levels for 1985 might be expected to be slightly higher since counties added to metropolitan areas since the 1980 Census are included. Black suburbanization levels are higher in 1985 (than in 1975) for all four regions, especially in the South. At the same time, reductions in intrametropolitan segregation between the mid-1970s and the mid-1980s were quite small, except in the West which had an index of 23 in 1985, compared to 30 in 1975.

Areal variation in 1985 suburbanization levels is even more striking among the 11 metropolitan areas (Panel D, Table 1). For instance, only 15% of blacks in Detroit live in the suburban ring in 1985, compared to 48% in Washington, DC. Two western metropolitan areas also show relatively high levels of black

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[3] Among non-blacks, non-whites are less likely than whites to live in suburbs (Massey and Denton, 1988); therefore, the definitional difference is probably not the cause of the lower suburbanization levels for whites in 1985 (62%) than for non-blacks in 1980 (65%).

suburbanization: Los Angeles (36%) and San Francisco (38%). White suburbanization levels also vary among areas, from a low of 40% in Phoenix to a high of 89% in Boston. Consequently, the range of segregation levels across metropolitan areas is also large, with the highest being in Detroit (73) and the lowest in Los Angeles (17). Despite the high black suburbanization level, segregation in the Washington area is still moderately high (38) since white suburbanization is so high (86%). Not surprisingly, given the regional results, segregation levels are highest for metropolitan areas in the two northern regions, somewhat lower in the South and lowest in the West.

Comparisons over time are possible for some of these areas. Suburbanization levels for non-blacks and blacks for 1970 and 1980 using 1980 metropolitan boundaries (Fielding, 1987b) are shown in Panel E of Table 1. For most of these areas, black suburbanization levels in 1985 are similar to those for 1980. In Los Angeles, the 1985 level (36%) is substantially lower than that for 1980 (42%).[4] Segregation levels are also much the same for 1980 and 1985 in these selected areas. An exception is Washington, where segregation in 1985 (38) is six points lower than in 1980 (44). Extending the time trend back to 1970 suggests that changes in black suburbanization levels over the 1970-80 decade were more dramatic than those for the 1980-85 period. For instance, in the Washington area, the proportion of blacks in suburbs increased from

[4] This decrease was not expected, given the history of strong black suburbanization in Los Angeles (e.g. Nelson, 1980).

24% in 1970 to 47% in 1980, a difference of 23 points; by 1985, the black suburbanization level was 48%, only one point higher than in 1980.

Overall, two conclusions emerge from these results. First, changes between 1980 and 1985 in black suburbanization and intrametropolitan segregation levels seem relatively small. This is consistent with other recent research (Grier and Grier, 1988) that found slower black suburbanization in the first half of the 1980s than during the 1970-80 decade. Second, areal differentials are stronger than temporal changes, illustrating how aggregated national and regional figures often mask considerable metropolitan variation in suburbanization patterns. One need only compare Detroit and Washington, DC or Los Angeles to see that these patterns have evolved in remarkably different ways in various locales.

Status Differentials

I now shift focus to examine status differentials in suburbanization and segregation levels. In Figure 1a, 1985 national suburbanization estimates are shown disaggregated by the educational attainment of the household head. The proportion of blacks living in suburbs tends to rise with education, whereas for whites, there is little association. Consequently, intrametropolitan racial segregation within educational level is lowest among college graduates (23). In contrast, suburbanization levels by household income (Figure 1b) are nearly parallel for blacks and whites, exhibiting a positive association with income.

At the regional level, educational differentials in black suburbanization are more distinct (Figure 2). Except in the South, the percent of blacks in the suburbs rises sharply with education. Patterns are mixed for whites in these three regions, and segregation levels within educational category also differ. In the Northeast, segregation shows little association with education, whereas in the North Central and West regions, black-white segregation is lowest for the higher educational categories. In Southern metropolitan areas, there is little difference in suburbanization level by education. A substantial proportion of "suburban" blacks in the South live in rural areas. As a result, black-white intrametropolitan segregation in the South is apparently lowest for those with less than a high school education.

Suburbanization patterns by education also differ widely among individual metropolitan areas. Trends for the four areas with the largest black populations (Detroit, Los Angeles, Philadelphia and Washington) are displayed in Figure 3. In Detroit, suburbanization level rises with education for blacks, but intrametropolitan segregation is very high even among college graduates (68). In Washington and Los Angeles, segregation decreases sharply as education goes up; in these areas, suburbanization rises with education for blacks and *declines* for whites. In Los Angeles, black and white college graduates are equally likely to live in the suburban ring. Philadelphia shows moderate levels of racial segregation at all educational levels.

Generally, these results suggest that black suburbanization rises, and intrametropolitan segregation declines, with increases in education. The regional and metropolitan differences noted here balance each other out such that national patterns show smaller education differentials.

SUBURBAN DESTINATION PROPENSITIES

In this section, I examine the destination choices of recent movers. The discussion will center around comparing black and white rates, rather than analyzing the implications of specific rate estimates. Are blacks still much less likely than whites to move to the suburbs? How do destination propensity rates differ across areas and status groups?

Race-specific destination propensity rates are shown in Table 2. These numbers represent the proportion of the movers from a particular origin that choose a suburban destination. Estimates refer to those who moved in the year prior to the survey, i.e. during the 1984-85 period. Some of the rates reported here have large standard errors due to small sample sizes; hence, unweighted bases for the estimates are provided in the Appendix.

City-Origin Movers

Rates will be discussed for each origin separately, beginning with those starting in a central city and staying in that metropolitan area (Columns 1 and 2, Table 2). Nationally, blacks are less than half as likely as whites to move to the suburban ring during the 1984-85 period. Only 13% of central-city black movers

choose suburban destinations, compared to 28% of white movers (Panel A). Although rates vary, the racial gap in suburban destination choice is wide in all four Census regions. Central-city blacks in the South are the most likely to move to suburbs (16%), followed by those in the West (12%). In the Northeast, the probability of moving to the suburbs for blacks (7%) is only one-quarter of that for whites (29%).

Overall, the racial difference in suburban destination propensities for the 1984-85 period is similar to that found by several researchers for the 1970s (Frey, 1984, 1985; Goodman and Streitwieser, 1983; Nelson, 1980). For comparison purposes, Panel B presents regional estimates for non-blacks and blacks over the 1975-78 period (Nelson, 1980). In the Northeast region, the suburban destination rate increased from 3% (1975-78) to 7% (1984-85) for blacks, but the racial gap actually widened since the rate for whites increased relatively more. In the West, central-city blacks appear to have been less likely to move to the suburbs in the mid-1980s (12%) than in the mid-1970s (24%).

Both the rates and the racial differences vary substantially across the 11 metropolitan areas (Panel C). In areas with large black populations, the propensity of central-city blacks to move to suburbs is particularly low in Detroit (8%) and Philadelphia (10%), and relatively high in Washington (28%) and Los Angeles (25%). Most of the areas also exhibit large racial differences in suburban propensity rates. The black-white gap for city-origin movers is smaller in areas with few blacks (Phoenix and Minneapolis) or where

the white rate is relatively low (Philadelphia and San Francisco). As in previous findings for suburbanization level, Los Angeles is distinct: city-origin blacks and whites were equally likely to move to suburbs over the 1984-85 period.

Rough comparisons with earlier periods are possible for some of the large metropolitan areas (Boston, Detroit, Los Angeles, Philadelphia, San Francisco and Washington), using the results of Nelson (1980) for the mid-1970s and Frey (1984) for 1975-80 period (data not shown). As was found in the regional analysis, the 1984-85 suburban propensity rates of city-origin blacks look remarkably similar to those for the 1970s. For example, the nearly equal suburban destination rates for blacks and whites in the Los Angeles area was also observed by Nelson. The only discrepancy is for Boston. Both Frey and Nelson report much lower suburban destination propensity rates for blacks (less than 10%) than the current results for the 1984-85 period (29%).

Taken together, these results indicate little racial convergence in suburban destination propensities. Most movers originating in a central city remain within that city, and among blacks, the proportion staying in the city is very high (87% nationally). Black city-to-suburb movement remains relatively unlikely, especially compared to whites. The racial convergence that is evident is due mainly to lower suburban choice rates for whites, rather than higher rates for blacks, for the mid-1980s compared to the 1970s.

Suburb-Origin Movers

If we turn our attention to those movers originating in the suburbs of the same metropolitan area (Columns 3 and 4, Table 2), we find what is perhaps a new pattern. Black and white rates are nearly equal at the national level; 79% of the white and 77% of the black suburban movers stayed in the suburbs (Panel A). This apparent equality masks underlying racial differences at the regional level and at the metropolitan level (to be discussed later). In the North Central and West regions, blacks are significantly less likely than whites to stay in the suburban ring; that is, they are more likely to move to the nearby central city. Suburban blacks in the South are actually more likely than whites to stay in the suburbs (rates: 82% for blacks versus 77% for whites).

Comparisons across time for regions (1975-78 to 1984-85) suggest that black suburban stay rates are higher in the later period in the Northeast and South, but have decreased in the North Central and West (see Panel B). The South is an interesting case, since in the earlier period, white suburban movers were more likely than blacks to stay in the suburbs, while for the 1984-85 period, blacks had a higher suburban destination rate. Except in the Northeast, the 1984-85 rates for whites are noticeably lower than those for non-blacks over the 1975-78 period. This trend is difficult to interpret, but could signal an increased propensity among white suburbanites to move to central cities.

Most metropolitan areas exhibit lower black suburban stay rates and larger racial differences (Panel C, Table 2) than for the nation as a whole. Even in Los Angeles, suburban blacks are much less likely than whites to choose suburban destinations (black rate, 56%; white, 80%). This contrasts with the finding of nearly equal black and non-black suburban destination rates of about 70% in Los Angeles for the 1975-78 period (Nelson 1980). Black suburban stay rates in the mid-1980s are relatively high and closer to white rates in only two large metropolitan areas: Philadelphia (black, 90%; white, 95%) and Washington, where the rate is 81% for blacks and 93% for whites.

Again, these results demonstrate that aggregated patterns may blur what are distinct patterns for individual metropolitan areas. Despite the near equality of the two rates at the national level, black rates approach those of whites in only one of the metropolitan areas (Philadelphia). It is possible that this stems at least partially from differential distribution of the races among metropolitan areas. Suburban blacks may be more concentrated in areas in which the suburban ring is large relative to the central city, thereby inflating their suburban stay rates at the national level.

In-movers from outside area

The general themes of areal variability and large racial differences also appear in the rates for those moving into a metropolitan area from either another metropolitan area or a non-metropolitan area (Columns 5 and 6, Table 2). At the national

level (Panel A), in-mover whites are approximately 1 1/2 times more likely than blacks to choose suburban destinations (white rate, 59%; black, 38%). Thus, the probability that blacks entering a metropolitan area will move to the central city remains high in the mid-1980s.

Regional comparisons suggest that black suburban propensity rates are higher, and racial differences lower, in the Northeast and South. The regional patterns and levels shown for the 1984-85 period are again roughly similar to those for the 1975-78 period (Panel B, Nelson 1980).

Rates vary strongly across the individual metropolitan areas (Panel C), but these are affected by sampling variability (see Appendix). Therefore, I will discuss only the areas with larger black populations. The propensity of black in-movers to choose suburban destinations is relatively high in San Francisco (67%) and Washington (57%), yet is lower in Los Angeles (31%).

Overall, the destination propensity results for the three origins indicate that the black suburbanization process in the mid-1980s is broadly similar to that of the 1970s. The main conclusion is that blacks are still much less likely than whites to move to suburban areas. The racial gap seems to have narrowed only for suburb-origin movers, although this may be due primarily to a decreased propensity among whites to stay in the suburbs rather than to an increase for blacks.

Status Differentials

Trends in suburban propensity rates by educational status are shown in Figures 4 through 6. In these figures, the relevant comparisons are those between white and black lines for each origin. Due to sample size considerations, in the regional and metropolitan figures, rates for in-movers are not displayed and education is compressed into three categories (less than high school graduate, high school graduate, and some college).

At the national level, the propensity of central-city blacks to move to suburbs rises with education (Figure 4). Still, black college graduates are less likely than whites (of any status) to move from the central city to the ring.

The pattern by education for suburban-origin blacks is unclear, but for whites, there is little association between education and propensity to stay in suburbs (Figure 4). Blacks in the highest education category appear to be more likely than whites to remain in the suburbs.

Among those moving into a metropolitan area, the racial gap is large at all education levels, except apparently for those with one to three years of college (Figure 4). The propensity to choose a suburban destination shows a positive relationship with education for black in-movers and little pattern for whites.

At the regional level, the propensity of central-city blacks to move to suburbs clearly rises with education only in the South (Figure 5). The racial gap in the suburban destination rates of

central-city movers is consistently large across almost all of the region-education categories.

Patterns for suburb-origin movers are even more difficult to interpret. All regions show little relationship between educational level and suburban stay rates for whites (Figure 5). In the South[5], black movers with some college are quite likely to remain in the suburbs, compared both to whites at that educational level and to blacks with no college experience.

Of the four metropolitan areas with large black populations, only Washington exhibits a positive association between education and suburban destination rate of central-city movers (Figure 6). In the other three areas, there appears to be little difference between education groups in the likelihood of blacks choosing suburban destinations. The racial difference in suburban propensity rates of city-origin movers is generally large, but is relatively smaller for all educational categories in Los Angeles.

As found in the aggregate analysis, the racial difference for suburb-origin movers is small in Philadelphia and Washington for most of the educational categories (Figure 6). In Los Angeles, the likelihood of staying in suburbs for blacks comes close to that for whites only among those with some college education.

These results suggest that the status pattern associated with suburbanization levels is unlikely to show significant change over the 1980-90 decade. That is, suburbanization levels will continue

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[5] The South has the largest black sample; estimates for the other three regions have high sampling variability.

to rise with education for blacks and stay relatively flat for whites. In particular, it seems unlikely that the suburbanization level of low status blacks has increased during the 1980s, given the low suburban destination propensities shown here for that group. Nevertheless, patterns in individual metropolitan areas could differ from aggregate patterns. For example, the proportion of low education blacks living in the suburbs of Los Angeles could show an increase since they exhibited a relatively high propensity to suburbanize over the 1984-85 period.

CONCLUSION

This investigation sought to characterize the black suburbanization process of the 1980s through examining sample data from 1985. I asked whether black suburbanization fulfilled the promise of the 1970s by accelerating in the 1980s. Of particular concern was the degree of convergence toward white patterns and the direction of change in intrametropolitan segregation by race. I addressed these issues through analyses of suburbanization levels and destination propensity rates for blacks and whites at the national, regional, and metropolitan levels.

The general picture emerging from the analysis is that black suburbanization has not accelerated in the 1980s. In fact, the changes between 1980 and 1985 in the proportion of blacks in suburbs suggest a slowing of black suburbanization since the 1970s. This conclusion is tentative, given the limitations of temporal

comparisons based on different data sources. However, it is consistent with other research (Grier and Grier, 1988).

What can we expect the 1990 Census to show? The propensity of blacks to choose suburban destinations is roughly similar in the mid-1980s to that observed in the 1970s. Along with the suburbanization level results, this finding points to a relatively smaller increase in the proportion of blacks in suburbs over the 1980-90 decade than during the 1970s. I also observed some convergence of black and white suburbanization patterns and a narrowing of intrametropolitan racial segregation. These patterns suggest that segregation will be lower in 1990 than in 1980, though still relatively high. Interestingly, the observed decrease in segregation between 1980 and 1985 appears more a result of reduced suburbanization among whites than an increase among blacks.[6]

One condition which would encourage substantial reduction in intrametropolitan segregation is equality between blacks and whites in the propensity to choose suburban destinations. Such an equality is not evident in these data for the 1984-85 period. The racial gap in suburban destination choice remains large; only one of every eight black city movers ends up in the suburbs, compared to more than one of every four white city movers. Further, the majority of black in-movers to metropolitan areas choose a city destination. Only for suburb-origin movers are black suburban

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[6] It is difficult to know whether this trend constitutes a "back-to-the-city" movement among whites. Information presented here does suggest that high status whites may be more likely than previously to move to central cities, which would be consistent with a gentrification hypothesis.

destination propensities close to those of whites. Since the majority of metropolitan blacks live in central cities, the mobility patterns of those originating in the city dominate the black intrametropolitan redistribution process. As long as city blacks are relatively unlikely to move to suburbs, central city/suburb racial segregation will remain high.

What is the source of this persistent racial gap in suburbanization? The analysis of status differentials in propensity rates demonstrates that the racial differences can not be traced to educational or income disparities between blacks and whites. With the exception of suburb-origin movers, high status blacks are much less likely to move to the suburbs than high status whites. This corroborates previous findings that increases in educational attainment and income among blacks do not necessarily lead to decreases in intrametropolitan segregation (Cottingham, 1975; Frey, 1985; Hermalin and Farley, 1973). Other possible reasons for low black suburbanization include continued prejudicial and discriminatory barriers (Farley, et al., 1978; Galster, 1986; Pettigrew, 1980) and residential preferences of blacks (Leigh and McGhee, 1986).

These aggregate results should be interpreted cautiously. As this analysis has shown, patterns for individual metropolitan areas differ widely. Among the three types of differentials studied (time, areal, status), areal differences are clearly the strongest. While some of these differences can be discerned by looking at regional trends, a fuller comprehension calls for analysis of

specific metropolitan areas. Detroit, for example, shows low levels of black suburbanization and little indication (in the form of propensity rates) of future increases in the relative representation of blacks in the suburbs. At the other end of the spectrum is Los Angeles, with an already low level of racial intrametropolitan segregation, where blacks and white city movers appear equally likely to move to the suburbs. Historical, ecological and social factors all contribute to distinct suburbanization patterns among metropolitan areas.

Greater black suburbanization is not necessarily synonymous with increased racial integration at the community or neighborhood level (Farley, J., 1983, 1984; Farley, R., 1970, 1977; Fielding, 1987b; Guest, 1978; Hermalin and Farley, 1973; Logan and Schneider, 1984; Massey and Denton, 1988; Stearns and Logan, 1986). Prospects for widespread gains in racial integration in the U.S. seem dim, yet they appear better in some metropolitan areas than others. Studying the relative influence of racial composition, location of employment opportunities, proportion of the ring population which is rural, levels of prejudice and discrimination, and enforcement of equal housing legislation could increase our understanding of metropolitan differences in black suburbanization and segregation patterns.

APPENDIX

Unweighted Sample Bases for Table 1 and Figures 1-3

	White	Black
A. National and Regions		
Total	24,963	3,226
Elem	2,721	533
Hi 1-3	2,744	642
Hi 4	8,784	1,126
C 1-3	4,562	515
C 4+	6,152	410
<$15,000	7,508	1,713
15-25,000	5,484	678
25-50,000	7,994	644
50,000+	3,977	191
Northeast	6,259	690
Elem	747	103
Hi 1-3	706	147
Hi 4	2,300	257
C 1-3	919	93
C 4+	1,587	90
North Central	5,894	753
Elem	555	112
Hi 1-3	651	169
Hi 4	2,331	263
C 1-3	1,046	141
C 4+	1,311	68
South	7,321	1,456
Elem	932	285
Hi 1-3	847	286
Hi 4	2,387	488
C 1-3	1,348	200
C 4+	1,807	197
West	5,489	327
Elem	487	33
Hi 1-3	540	40
Hi 4	1,766	118
C 1-3	1,249	81
C 4+	1,447	55

	White	Black
B. Metropolitan Areas		
Boston	3,073	186
Dallas	2,042	352
Fort Worth	2,136	240
Minneapolis	3,102	92
Phoenix	2,523	83
San Fran.	4,271	615
Tampa	2,370	266
Detroit	4,058	1,140
Elem	387	158
Hi 1-3	548	267
Hi 4	1,513	411
C 1-3	771	200
C 4+	839	104
Los Ang.	4,155	681
Elem	546	72
Hi 1-3	413	100
Hi 4	1,204	241
C 1-3	912	164
C 4+	1,080	104
Philadel.	4,165	1,008
Elem	407	131
Hi 1-3	537	242
Hi 4	1,540	410
C 1-3	599	123
C 4+	1,052	102
Wash, DC	3,850	1,372
Elem	186	148
Hi 1-3	243	221
Hi 4	944	471
C 1-3	627	263
C 4+	1,850	269

Appendix (cont.)
Unweighted Sample Bases for Table 2 and Figures 4-6

	ORIGIN					
	Same Metropolitan Area					
	Central City		Suburb		Outside MSA	
	White	Black	White	Black	White	Black
A. National and Regions						
Total	1454	390	1601	151	1573	128
Elem	116	37	96	7	69	15
Hi 1-3	166	107	167	25	138	19
Hi 4	497	123	626	61	483	39
C 1-3	339	76	349	32	337	33
C 4+	336	47	363	26	546	22
Northeast	215	57	294	24		
< Hi Grad.	42	27	44	6		
Hi Grad.	68	13	111	11		
Some Clg.	105	17	139	7		
No. Central	333	121	407	17		
< Hi Grad.	49	44	60	3		
Hi Grad.	120	47	171	9		
Some Clg.	164	30	176	5		
South	519	185	504	77		
< Hi Grad.	112	68	93	21		
Hi Grad.	181	52	182	28		
Some Clg.	226	65	229	28		
West	387	27	396	33		
< Hi Grad.	79	5	66	2		
Hi Grad.	128	11	162	13		
Some Clg.	180	11	168	18		
B. Metropolitan Areas						
Boston	64	7	374	28		
Dallas	267	67	203	25		
Ft Worth	266	53	192	5		
Minneapolis	261	30	394	4		
Phoenix	474	22	183	6		
San Francisco	176	55	401	49		
Tampa	168	38	325	19		
Detroit	90	200	541	23		
< Hi Grad.	31	67	79	0		
Hi Grad.	29	77	214	10		
Some Clg.	30	56	248	13		
Los Angeles	303	66	316	44		
< Hi Grad.	78	22	78	8		
Hi Grad.	76	22	96	16		
Some Clg.	149	22	142	20		
Philadelphia	159	97	401	50		
< Hi Grad.	31	27	50	10		
Hi Grad.	42	39	163	18		
Some Clg.	86	31	188	22		
Washington DC	135	101	440	119		
< Hi Grad.	4	19	55	6		
Hi Grad.	20	41	125	49		
Some Clg.	111	41	260	64		

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Table 1. Suburbanization Level (% of Metropolitan Pop. in Suburbs) and Metropolitan Segregation, 1985

	Percent in Suburbs		Index of Dissimilarity City/Suburb
	White	Black	
A. National and Regions, 1985			
Total	61.6%	28.9%	32.7
Northeast	65.7%	24.4%	41.3
North Central	61.8	16.5	45.3
South	60.9	35.9	25.0
West	57.5	34.5	23.0

Source: American Housing Survey, National File

B. National, 1960, 1970 and 1980, non-black and black			
1980	64.6%	28.2%	36.4
1970	59.9	23.1	36.8
1960	54.4	24.1	30.3

Note: 1970 and 1960 figures calculated with 1980 metropolitan boundaries
Source: U.S. Census (Long and DeAre, 1981)

C. Regions, 1975, non-black and black			
Northeast	62.7%	20.7%	42.0
North Central	62.5	15.3	47.2
South	55.6	28.5	27.1
West	59.9	29.6	30.3

Source: Current Population Survey (Nelson, 1980)

(table continued on next page)

Table 1 (cont.)

	Percent in Suburbs		Index of Dissimilarity City/Suburb
	White	Black	
D. Metropolitan Areas, 1985			
Northeast			
Boston	88.5%	23.4%	65.1
Philadelphia	71.9	27.1	44.8
North Central			
Detroit	88.1	15.4	72.7
Minneapolis	69.5	18.0	51.5
South			
Dallas	55.9	16.6	39.3
Fort Worth	59.2	20.3	38.9
Tampa	74.0	32.2	41.8
Washington, DC	86.1	48.1	38.0
West			
Los Angeles	53.7	36.4	17.3
Phoenix	40.3	16.9	23.4
San Francisco	74.0	37.5	36.5

Source: American Housing Survey, Metropolitan File

E. Metropolitan Areas, 1970 and 1980, non-black and black				
Northeast				
Phila.	1980	72.6%	27.7%	44.9%
	1970	67.4	22.5	44.9
North Central				
Detroit	1980	87.2	14.8	72.4
	1970	75.3	12.8	62.5
Minn.	1980	70.9	18.0	52.9
	1970	59.9	6.2	53.7
South				
Wash DC	1980	91.4	47.4	44.0
	1970	89.8	23.6	66.2
West				
LA	1980	57.4	42.3	15.1
	1970	57.7	31.5	26.2
SFran.	1980	73.0	37.1	35.9
	1970	69.2	33.0	36.2

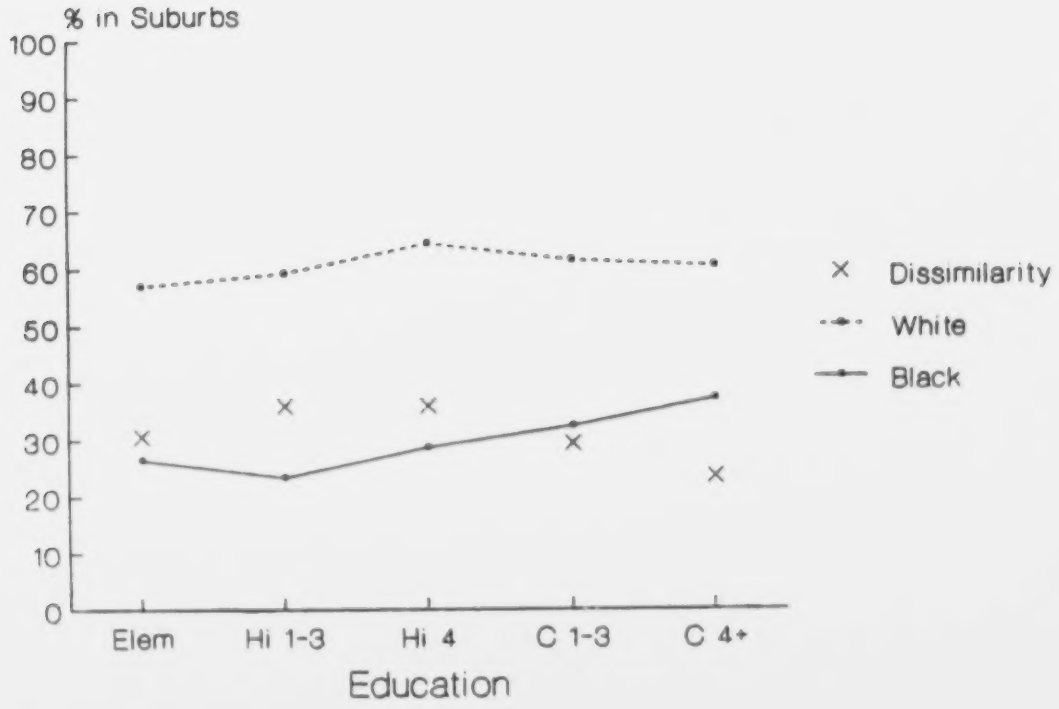
Source: U.S. Census (Fielding, 1987b)

Table 2. Suburban Destination Propensities by Place of Origin, 1985
(% choosing suburbs of those leaving specified origin within the last year)

	ORIGIN					
	Same Metropolitan Area					
	Central City		Suburb		Outside MSA	
	White (1)	Black (2)	White (3)	Black (4)	White (5)	Black (6)
A. National and Regions, 1985						
Total	27.8%	12.5%	79.0%	76.5%	59.3%	37.8%
Northeast	28.6	6.8	88.4	83.7	67.3	53.6
No. Central	23.7	10.1	78.6	60.1	53.5	24.9
South	30.5	15.9	76.8	81.9	58.6	42.3
West	27.2	12.2	75.7	65.4	58.5	31.3
Source: American Housing Survey, National File						
B. Regions, 1975-78						
Northeast	17.7%	3.0%	88.4%	74.3%	71.9%	56.8%
No. Central	35.9	11.7	89.3	80.5	54.9	34.6
South	30.7	17.0	86.6	76.9	54.3	38.4
West	36.6	23.5	81.9	68.1	62.1	39.3
Source: Current Population Survey (Nelson, 1980)						
C. Metropolitan Areas, 1985						
Northeast						
Boston	58.2%	28.9%	91.8%	38.3%	86.1%	38.6%
Philadelphia	19.7	9.6	95.2	89.6	79.2	40.4
North Central						
Detroit	38.9	8.1	96.6	66.0	82.9	18.2
Minneapolis	24.8	15.6	85.4	56.2	75.6	0.0
South						
Dallas	31.8	9.6	84.2	45.0	49.3	8.8
Ft Worth	37.4	20.4	77.8	39.6	64.3	17.5
Tampa	39.5	6.5	89.8	76.9	72.2	54.9
Washington DC	53.5	28.4	93.0	81.0	81.2	56.8
West						
Los Angeles	24.1	24.5	79.7	56.0	55.1	31.2
Phoenix	26.1	21.6	62.7	48.3	39.9	26.3
San Francisco	29.6	11.7	92.7	63.3	75.2	66.8
Source: American Housing Survey, Metropolitan File						

Figure 1.

A. Suburbanization Level by Education, National 1985



B. Suburbanization Level by Income, National, 1985

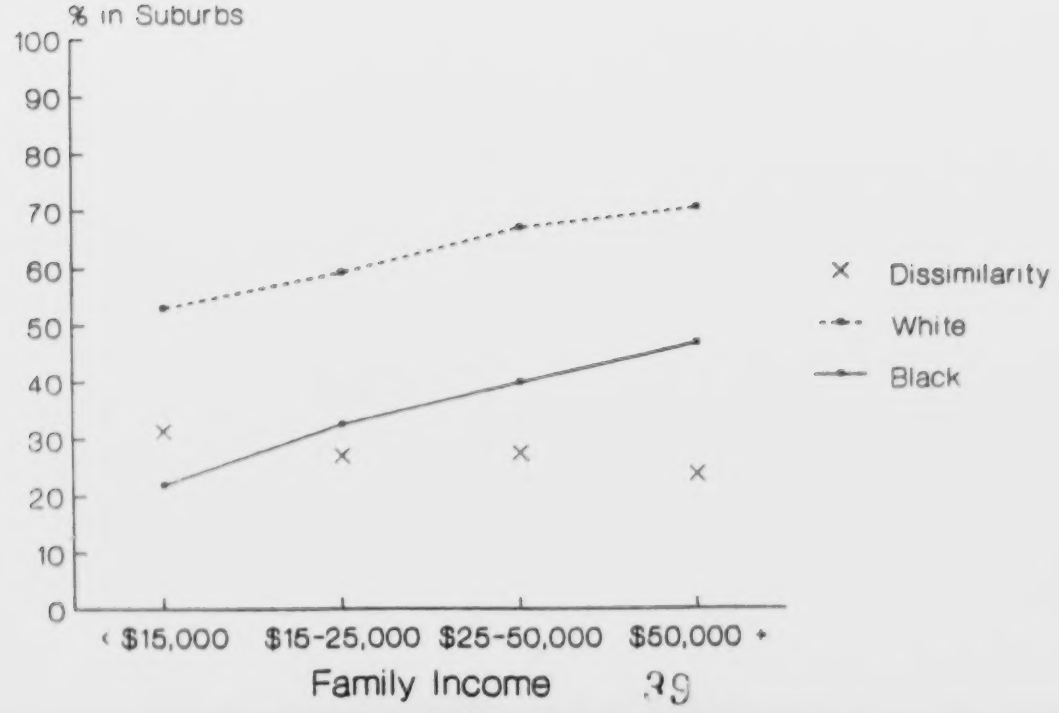


Figure 2. Suburbanization Level by Education, Regions, 1985

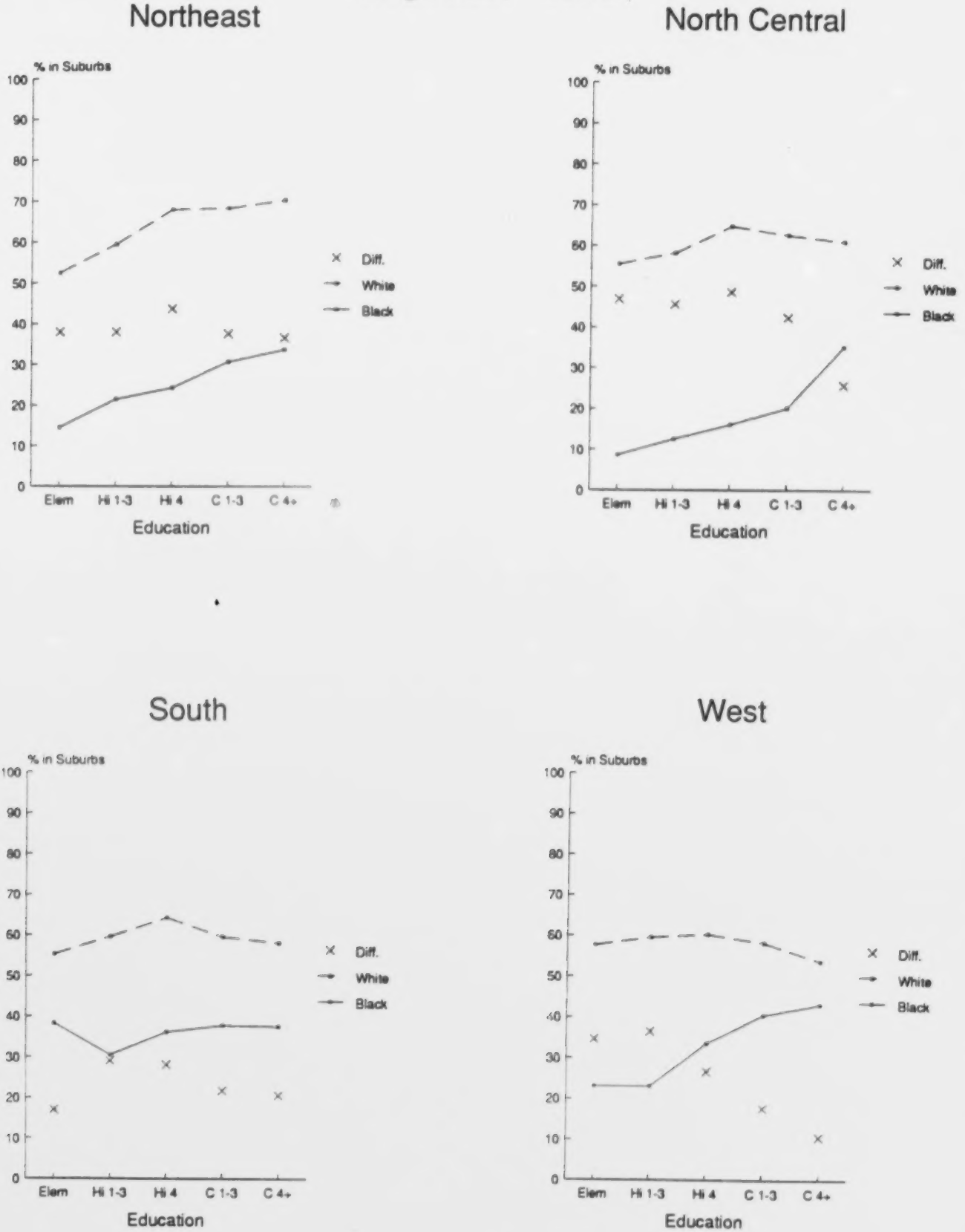
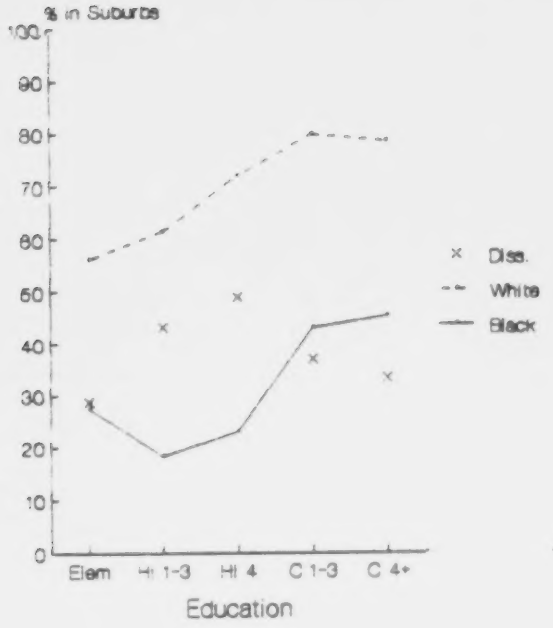
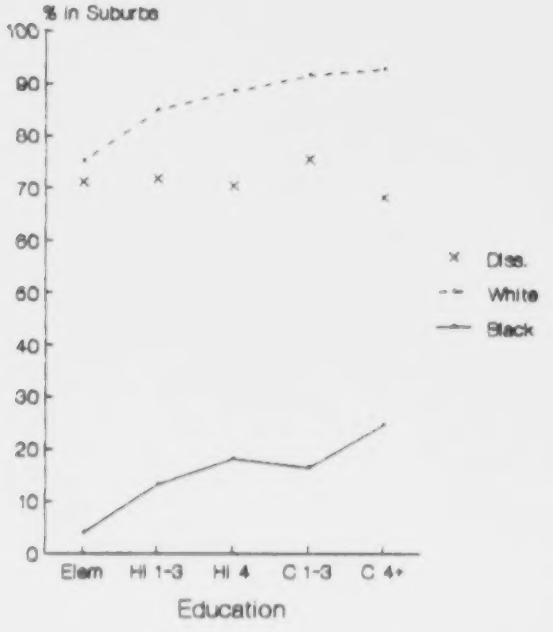


Figure 3. Suburbanization Level by Education, Metropolitan Areas, 1985

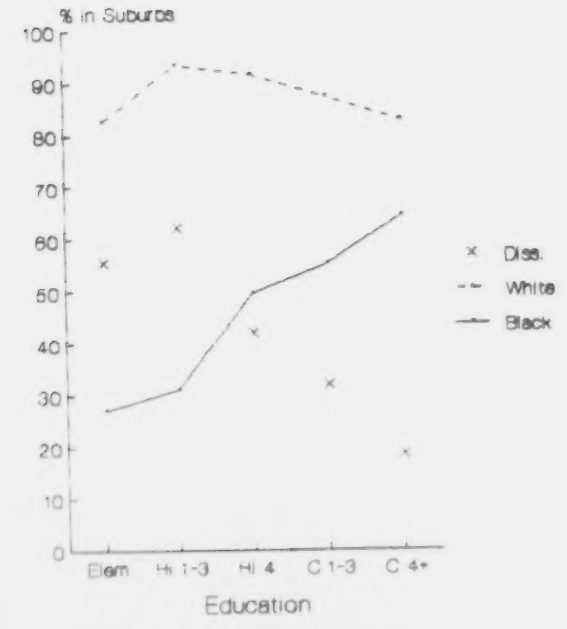
Philadelphia



Detroit



Washington, DC



Los Angeles

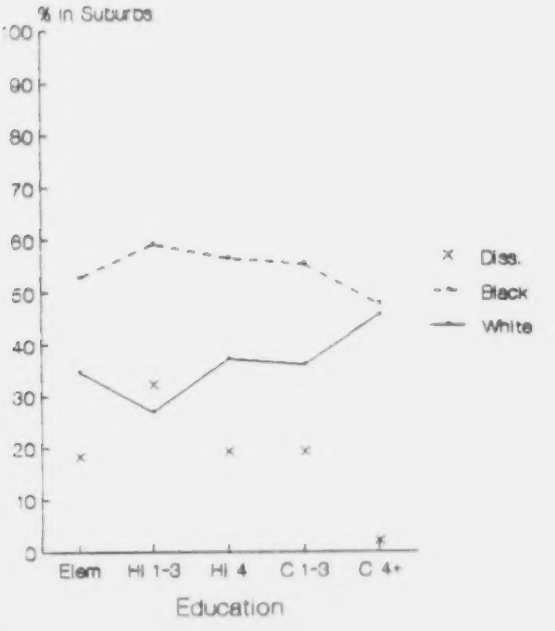


Figure 4.

Suburban Destination Propensities by Race and Education, National 1985

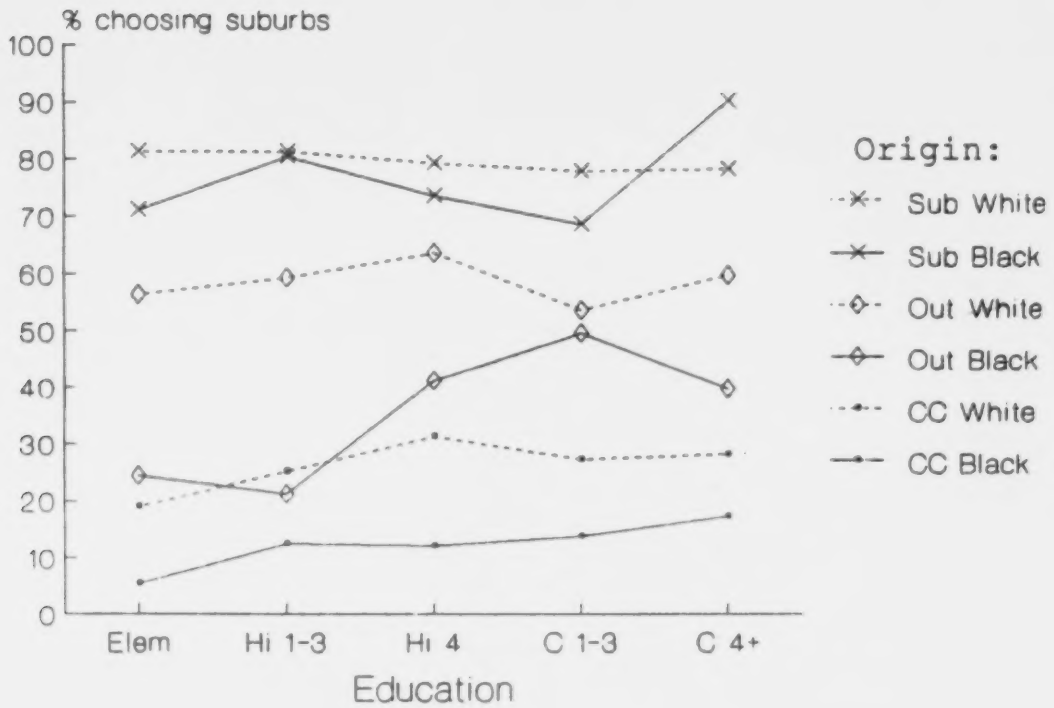


Figure 5. Suburban Destination Propensities by Education, Regions, 1985

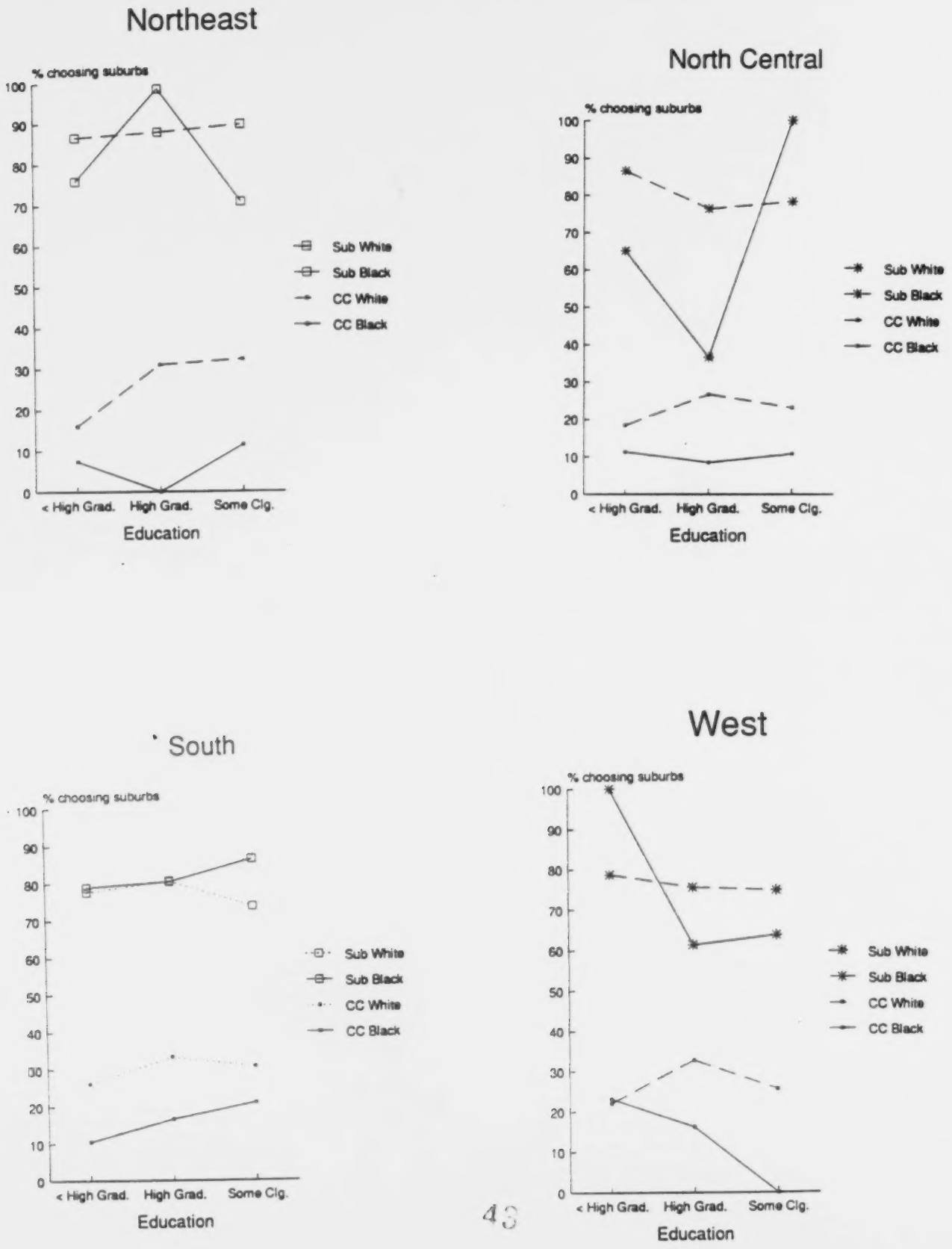
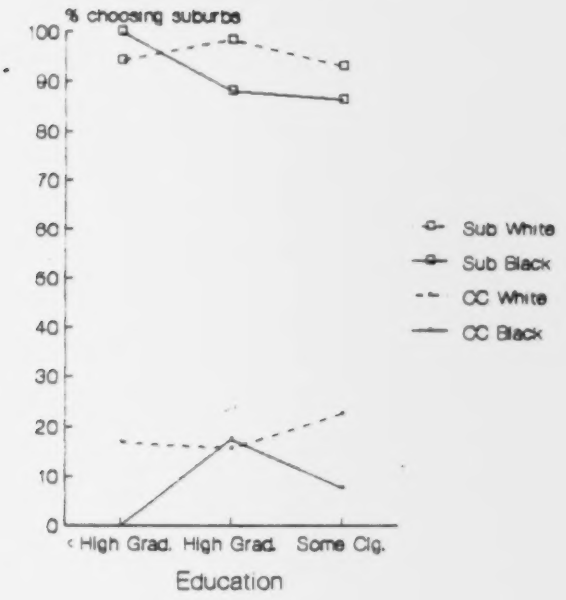
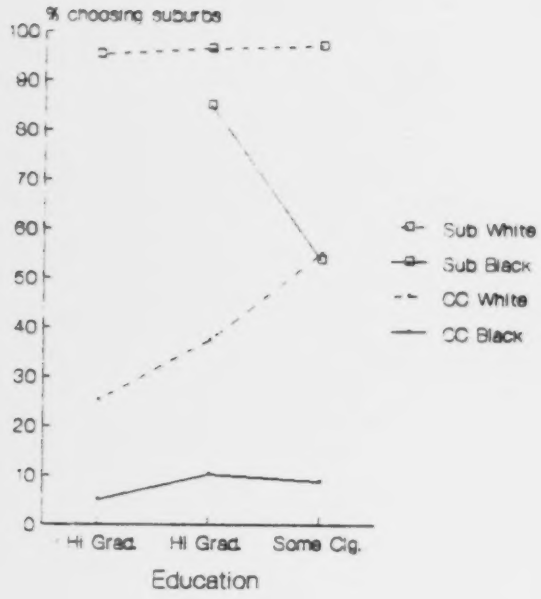


Figure 6. Suburban Destination Propensities by Education, Metropolitan Areas, 1985

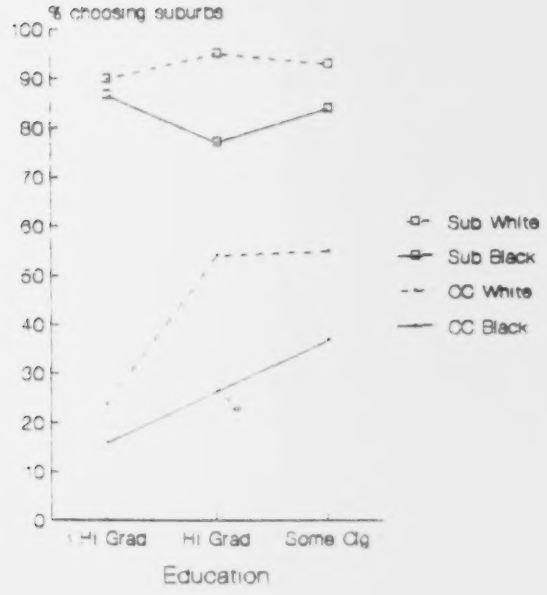
Philadelphia



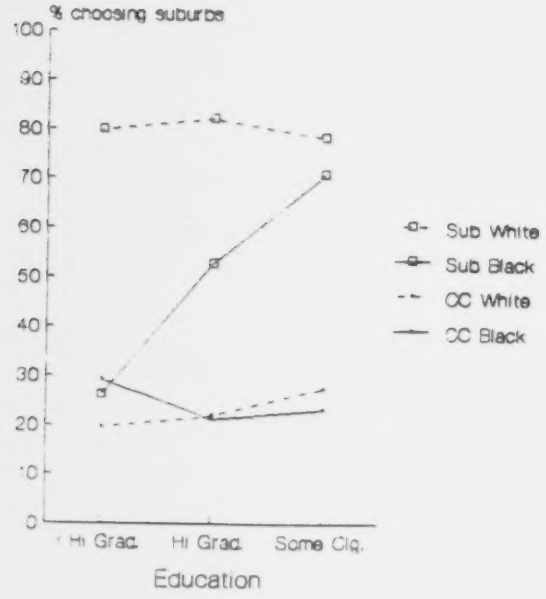
Detroit



Washington, DC



Los Angeles



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